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PROGRESS REPORT  
ON THE  
STUDY ON SOCIAL CONDITIONS OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

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## I. Social realities in economic development

### 1. The need to include social questions in development problems

The progress made by the Latin American countries in their movement towards economic growth has now reached a stage when it is perhaps necessary to consider certain aspects of this process which have so far received but little attention. Because any exploratory work must depart from known ground, in this case a start may be made from the established fact that public opinion in the Latin American countries is generally aware of certain economic concepts, with which ECLA publications are in agreement. Firstly, there is the opinion that a redistribution of income is alone insufficient to raise the average standard of living of the masses and that a sure solution to this problem can only be found through increasing the per capita product, or, what amounts to the same thing, by accelerating the rate of growth of the whole economic system. Secondly, the conviction exists that growth demands an energetic development policy, guided with the greatest possible foresight and maintained with a flexible continuity. A third concept is that such a policy must be founded upon the firm basis of programming, the nature and techniques of which have been established with ever-increasing refinement during the last few years.

From the foregoing suppositions, which are certainly not very far from reality, it is easy with a little imagination to pass to others. It may be assumed that a given country has for some time been following a sustained development policy, guided in all its aspects by a well-planned programme. Nevertheless, despite this effort, the rate of growth may not meet the planned target. What has gone wrong? A thorough and critical examination may discover no errors in the projections or in the calculations, nor can any discrepancies be found in the working data; furthermore, no internal or external contingencies may exist to explain the phenomenon. Is it not advisable to look beyond the mere working data for factors which were omitted or were simply taken for granted? Does not the answer lie in the actual economic /behaviour of

behaviour of the various social groups which were supposed to react rationally to the new conditions? What in fact was their actual conduct and why? As a result, an investment target is not an automatic process which can do without the existence of individuals with the will to invest and entrepreneurs capable of initiative and ready to take advantage of favourable circumstances; nor can a savings programme be carried out without men and women willing to modify their consumer habits and income levels to a reasonable degree; finally, the required increase in productivity cannot be achieved by mechanical processes alone, but depends on a definite labour morale and individuals who are impelled by their own aspirations to accept the requisite discipline voluntarily.

All the qualities mentioned so far - will, habits, aspirations and morale - lie outside the usual sphere and working ideas of the economist. But, the mere emphasis of this limitation serves neither as an excuse nor as a cheap comfort for too great an illusion, since it is a field which can be explored, known and used in some way. The problem is not, of course, a new one for the economist, but it presents acute and perhaps distinct characteristics, in under-developed countries. Thus, this question is by no means solved by raising the well-known reference to the gap existing between the economic model and reality: precise and mathematical computation and statistical projections are at all times opposed by the incalculable contingencies of human existence, full of inertia, frictions and irregularities. As regards the under-developed countries - and their backwardness is not entirely a historical accident - this recognized and inevitable gap between the theoretical model and reality is not only far greater, but some of the assumptions and conditions required to establish any economic model may be wholly or partially lacking. A knowledge of this fact has almost caused some students of under-developed economies to despair of overcoming such difficulties. Nevertheless, there appears to be no real justification for such an attitude. When the existence of certain values and certain attitudes, habits and traditions are outlined as powerful obstacles to economic development, they cannot be described as so mysterious that nothing remains to be done. It is first, necessary to understand them, to know how they operate and to establish their effects, but it is also possible to modify them

/as required

as required, slow though this process may be.

When the hypothetical reasoning reached the need to investigate the actual behaviour of the various social groups in any given country, groups which could not be replaced in its economic life, the existence of unfavourable motives was mentioned. What inducements did these different individuals have for not acting in accordance with expectations? A study of these motives - and of their changes through the elimination of inertia and the introduction of incentives is not a psychological task very far from that of the economist. The motives, behaviour and beliefs which influence man are not without causes, but represent the demands of definite habits and institutions. The analysis of such motives necessarily leads to another of the social structure, a question which is clearly close to the normal interests and training of the economist. Scarcely anyone fails to recognize that the over-all principles of contemporary social science include two basic tenets: first, that social structure and character - as it is termed today - are closely related, the one being a counterpart of the other; second, that the social structure is a complex body of institutions which cannot be altered without parallel modifications of a more or less deep-rooted nature in each institution. Hence, when the economist encounters signs of conduct which are not in accordance with his assumptions and requirements, he is faced with a character - a system of attitudes and motives - which has been formed by a social structure different from the one he is looking for and needs. When, with the aim of development, attempts are made to adopt the measures necessary for economic growth, the economist is in fact introducing factors of change into an institution which can only operate with complete success if the other components of the social structure also undergo parallel modifications.

Thus, it is not surprising, when faced with the problem of the under-developed countries, research workers and institutions are becoming increasingly aware of the integral nature of economic development. The expression "integrated development" has already become current usage and many efforts, at times in a somewhat confused manner, are being made to define what it is. But before insisting on this point, a short digression will not be out of place.

It is not infrequent that the first reaction to the difficulties raised by more or less obsolete social structures to current economic development, is to refer to the past to find a model for guidance in the social evolution of

/advanced countries.

advanced countries. Thus, if the social and cultural conditions which governed the appearance and development of modern capitalism had been such and such, had followed this or that course in their internal change, it might be expected that they would again recur automatically, or, in the best case, could cause their repetition in a more rapid and concentrated form. The evolutionary theories of the XIX century and the interpretation of economic patterns by a number of prominent economic historians, consciously or unconsciously, still exert considerable influence upon present-day thought. For example, the appropriate order for the process of industrialization is usually no other than the order of historical development itself. Some might think that, in its extreme form, for a country to obtain the entrepreneurs it lacks, new religious reforms or the formation of certain heterodox and marginal groups would be necessary.

It is obvious that the foregoing remarks in no way deny the value of historical research and knowledge, as applied to particular spheres and problems, but they are aimed at drawing timely attention to an important point. In most cases, these situations are radically new and cannot be resolved by reference to the past or by imitating the assumed real models offered by the more advanced countries. The same situation that takes place in the field of economics and techniques also occurs in the sphere of social institutions and human relations. The countries of the periphery represent a new situation in relation to the dynamic centres of the economy and thus, although they can benefit from loans of capital and techniques, they are not absolved from the obligation of continuing to exercise their own ingenuity. In the sphere of economic theory itself, they have had to seek and to find variants based on reality, while, as regards technology, the urgent need to find solutions better adapted to their own technology, the urgent need to find solutions better adapted to their own technical problems has repeatedly been emphasized. The field of social customs and human relationships has also led to radically new situations, which do not permit systems arising from different circumstances to be repeated for which no precedents exist. In this respect, it sometimes happens that models are suggested which merely represent imaginary conditions or an academic theory, which have already ceased to exist in reality. The model of the entrepreneur it is hoped to imitate may thus be absent from the milieu where he is  
/being sought,

being sought, or the image of the industrial workman or rural community may not correspond to its subsequent status. The warnings of a Riesmann on the dangers of using the United States as an example for the under-developed countries, may be somewhat exaggerated or paradoxical, important as they are, but they contain an essential germ of truth. There is no reason to suppose that the creative ingenuity for new social and cultural forms, which are attempting to broaden industrial civilization, has been exhausted. The new social conditions arising from the eagerness of the peripheral countries to share actively in this process can be resolved not by looking to the past but by an imaginative effort for the future. But, because the imagination must be controlled, inventive genius is only effective when linked with reality, which must be studied in as much detail as possible. In leaving this digression, the same experience is encountered that in many different ways recalls the significance of the social and human aspects of economic development.

So far, the interest in the social and cultural aspects of economic development has not followed any definite course, nor has it been a clear and straightforward task. Moreover, such research may be over-due. For this reason, a brief outline of its development should be sketched.

## 2. A brief historical summary

These two facts should cause no surprise: first, that the study of the social aspects of economic development very much lags behind in the special outlook of the economist; and second, that its initial stages to some extent reflect what has happened to economic theory itself. The point of departure is inevitably the matter of the moment, so attention has been focussed more on the urgent practical problems than on the theory. This is recognized by many economists, who point out how much a present analysis of the economic theory of growth owes to the immediate incentives of the moment. The declared interest in the so-called under-developed countries results from a singular series of historical circumstances, accelerated by the consequences of the Second World War and, as such, this interest appears as inevitable for one and all. The theory was born - or revived - as a response to immediate problems, but for this reason the infiltration of ideology could not be avoided in certain cases. It should be possible, therefore, to observe in detail a matter which can only be mentioned briefly here: the dual effort being made by present-day economic thought to draw

up the most comprehensive and exacting theory possible and, simultaneously, to free it from ties with any extraneous matter.

The sociological analysis of development - to use for convenience one term only - reproduces similar stages with some delay. A rapid review of official and private publications dealing with some aspects of the subject over the last few years, shows very clearly the three-fold origin of the contemporary interest in the social aspects of economic development.

One of these points of departure - possibly the first in order of time and empirical importance - is found in the field of practical action. A great many examples may be noted. But it will be useful to emphasize those arising from the reactions produced by the technical assistance which international organizations and the governments of advanced countries have been giving to under-developed countries. Many of the persons administering these programmes agree on a point which only a few have been able to express in writing, namely, that the success of such action depends upon a broader and more complete social perspective of the countries in which such assistance is being applied. Some of these officials specifically state that, to accomplish this end, closer co-operation between the various specialists in the social sciences should be established. It is certainly very significant that the old desire for a unified and integrated concept of the social sciences - now rechristened "inter-disciplinary research" - is today being brought forward as a requisite by those engaged in the most practical type of action.

A second point of departure may be found in economic theory itself, that is among certain economists engaged in elaborating a satisfactory and integral theory of development. This question cannot be considered in detail here; it would demand very close study because of the wide variations in terminology and of the fairly extensive character of the research. In addition, the phenomenon sometimes appears in an exaggerated form, amounting to a repudiation of economic methods, and which thus lacks any theoretical value. There is some tendency to dovetail the social component into the actual theory of development, hoping to find measurable values for its various factors; other quarters recognize the importance of these factors, but do not see how to consider them as parameters in constructing their model; the majority are content to indicate the need for co-ordination and still hope for an integration of the various

/isolated and



isolated and unconnected results obtained from the social sciences. The background to these different positions may be found in the history of economic science and recourse is made to it more or less explicitly. For the purpose of this summary, however, enough has been said, because the important point to note is that a revived appeal to history, sociology and psychology now exists for those economists engaged upon a theory of growth.

The third departure point for the present interest in the social aspects of development is to be found, as might be expected, among the different specialists in the social sciences - apart from economists - who are attempting to apply their different viewpoints to a problem which represents a universal experience of the present day, to all those conscious of what C. Brinkmann has recently termed "the sociological dimensions of human disciplines". However, the suggestions emanating from this quarter continue to be somewhat vague and confused, a fact which can be readily understood through the general lack of a unified point of view. Furthermore, because of very peculiar current circumstances, there has not been such a high degree of planned action in the sphere of sociology as in that of anthropology, and, to a lesser degree, social psychology. The bibliographical selections and some of the attempts at synthesis which have recently appeared clearly show the dispersed and heterogeneous nature of this type of research. Finally, this section should include the contribution of authors, whose preoccupation with economic development from some angles of value has consequently led them to the theme of the type of development which should be encouraged. For example, according to these writers, the development to be sought is that which will stimulate and also give effect to the personal values which form the moral bases of civilization. In other words, what is the price in human values which must be paid for each type of development and the rate of growth it demands?

These brief considerations show that the attention directed to the social aspects of development has made comparatively rapid progress; nevertheless, from the theoretical aspect, a considerable effort is required to elaborate and to systematize the fragmentary evidence outlined by different authors. It is thus obvious that without minimum theoretical support, it is impossible to guide practical research, to co-ordinate the results obtained from studies which are disconnected or only circumstantial, and to distinguish /between the

between the really essential facts and those which are secondary or lack real importance. Further, this emphasis on scientific precision is an obligation of practical action because it is known that the social and political problems of economic development are in greater danger than those of a strictly economic or technological character, since, given the interests or emotions, they are subject to ideological influences or immediate solutions, both of an improvised and inaccurate nature. The only guarantee for a continuous and broad programme lies in the work of sifting competent research.

Despite the apparent diversity of all these tendencies, something has been obtained: the over-all or integrated concept of growth which was mentioned earlier. The VI Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations adopted a resolution<sup>1/</sup> which expresses this opinion in very clear terms, because it recognizes that in order to accelerate development plans and programmes, a "continuous, comprehensive and methodical study of every aspect of economic development" was necessary. There can be no doubt that this concept takes into account not only an adequate integration of the agricultural, industrial, technological and organizational aspects, but also those arising from the social structure in its widest sense and from the field of current human relationships. This is apparent from the Memorandum by the Secretary-General,<sup>2/</sup> in reply to resolution 461 (XV) of the Economic and Social Council, which gives a list of the subjects which have not so far been dealt with by the United Nations or the specialized agencies. This list contains some of the themes which are later mentioned in this report and which belong to the social and human aspects of economic development.

If the present status of research in this field is now examined, it may be seen that its pattern broadly coincides with the conclusions previously reached when discussing theory and reality. In fact, an examination of the bibliographies and the information on the work undertaken in this sphere, clearly underlines that most of the studies are of a circumstantial or conditional nature. It is generally recognized - and it is no novelty to

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1/ See resolution 521 (VI), Official Records: Sixth Session, Supplement No.20 (document A/2119).

2/ See Economic Development of Under-Developed Countries. Processes and Problems of Industrialization. List of Subjects for Further Study. (Document E/2689.)

repeat it here - this research in the main lacks a theoretical framework capable of offering generalized hypotheses or principles; they also show no uniformity in the methods employed. Nevertheless, the various motives for their appearance present a significant picture. It is a matter of note that, as regards geographical distribution, a marked predilection exists for Asia and Africa, and that as far as theory is concerned the ethnological viewpoint sometimes carries excessive weight. Both facts are simple to explain and one of them in particular will be discussed briefly at a later stage. The point at present is that the impression may be given that research into the social aspects of backward economies is confused or tends to be confused with a study of very primitive peoples or of cultures outside Western civilizations. The pitfalls of such an error should be avoided henceforth. It cannot be said, at this stage, how far all this literature can be successfully used or what possibilities for generalization it includes. There can be no doubt, however, that it already constitutes a relatively abundant source, rich at least in suggestions and inspiration.

The forms taken by this research must next be considered within the purposes of this report. The outstanding contribution is the work completed or projected by various university research centres in the United States. For this summary, it is sufficient to record the work undertaken by the Research Center in Economic Development and Cultural Change, with its well-known bulletin, and those of the Research Center in Entrepreneurial History at Harvard University, which is a source of permanent inspiration for all. Similar centres are beginning such work in a number of European countries, although in most cases they are directed towards respective non-self-governing territories. In Latin America, an encouraging start has also been made, among which - as examples - the research being undertaken by the School of Sociology and Politics at São Paulo, and the Social Research Center of the University of Porto Rico, may be quoted; in both these cases the predominant aim is to serve the economic development of their respective countries.

Ranking first among international organizations from the angle of the present subject is UNESCO; its Department of Social Sciences has successively created the International Social Science Council and the International Research Office on the Social Implications of Technological Change. The  
/latter body,

latter body, in turn, organized a conference in March 1954, for the purpose of concentrating the study of these implications on the problem of economic motivations. UNESCO also plans to establish subsidiary regional centres and a start has already been made, in conjunction with ECAFE, ILO and FAO, on an international centre for research in South Asia.

Because all these activities are closely related to the problems considered in this report, it will be of interest to examine their history somewhat closely, since it demonstrates the natural uncertainty which still exists in guiding the studies and determining their themes. It may thus be seen that the programme of the Department of Social Sciences includes as its second point the study of industrialization and economic development; similarly this programme also comprises proposed research on "the social conditions of productivity". But the hesitancy described above was nowhere more marked than at the beginning of the studies undertaken by the International Research Office on the Social Implications of Technological Change. This title was finally chosen, after an examination of various alternatives, for lack of a better one. This statement is naturally not presented as a criticism, but to focus attention upon a situation of general concern. This terminological indecision - which does not always involve discussions of content - merely emphasizes the tentative character of the initial stages. For behind this question is a common experience and a common problem.

In this connexion, it is significant that such an organization as the International Sociological Association (ISA), sponsored by UNESCO, has chosen as its general theme for the Third World Congress of Sociology to be held in 1956 "the problems of social change"; within this general framework, the problems of under-developed countries will receive special attention. Similarly, an important privately-sponsored body, the International Institute of Differing Civilizations (INCIDI), which has produced work of considerable significance at its recent meetings, in 1955, will study the problems of élites and vertical movements of population in tropical and sub-tropical countries.

Omitting other examples for the sake of brevity, it remains to emphasize the variety of the sociological problems connected with economics which are at present being studied by different United Nations bodies and the tendency

/of which

of which to cross and overlap has recently been considered by the Administrative Committee on Co-ordination. The following is a bare summary of these subjects, with no attempt at ordered presentation: development of the community (UN-UNESCO); land reform (UN-FAO-UNESCO); professional training in agriculture (ILO); internal migratory movements (UN); urbanization (UNESCO); psychological factors affecting productivity (ILO-UNESCO); workers' education (UNESCO-ILO); human relations in industry (ILO); social policies with regard to indigenous population problems (ILO-UNESCO); standards of living (ILO) and others. This list shows the enormous amount of material which can be collected in a short period, as well as the need for undertaking the task of systematization. To some extent, this task has already been carried out by the Economic and Social Council, whose recent publication An International Survey of Programmes of Social Development constitutes a complete summary of this material. However, as the title indicates, this excellent work was undertaken from the aspect of social action and policy, so that it does not exactly coincide with the argument of this report, which is dictated by the demands of a programme and policy of economic development. Nevertheless, this publication is valuable, not only on account of the wealth of its contents - which is always useful in the context of this report - but because the basic concept, clearly expressed in the introduction, is that economic growth and social development are merely two features of the same phenomenon.

This rapid review of the present status of research into the social problems related to economic development, at least confirms what was previously stated about the new and intensified interest in this subject. At the same time, it emphasizes the urgency of new research work.

The task of clarifying and systematizing all these themes should be undertaken as soon as possible, attempting to concentrate future efforts upon the strategic point of economic development, namely, that demanded by its theory and programming alike. The organization of such work should, provisionally, include the following immediate objectives: a) Determining the basic themes. Even if strict theoretical agreement were not possible, a consensus of opinion on the most essential empirical themes could be reached. In other words, a study of the factors which are assumed to be the most significant and decisive could be undertaken. b) Establishing priorities. This implies planning research in accordance with both the exigencies of the /moment and

moment and the interests of pure knowledge. There are long-term and short-term research projects which must be balanced if they are both equally necessary.

c) Unifying methods. A further requirement is the acceptance and use of the same or similar methods of research in the different countries and regions, so that they are interchangeable, thus permitting the respective results to be compared easily.

Perhaps the best means for achieving co-ordination in the initial phase would be through conferences or seminars such as those sponsored by UNESCO. The second step would be the establishment of regional centres suitable for co-ordinating efforts and guiding research along the lines already clearly defined. It is inappropriate, however, to examine these aspects of the question at this stage.

### 3. The two major questions

So far, the ground covered has been retrospective and exploratory in character and the predominating impression may possibly have been one of vagueness and hesitation. It had to be so and the less compromising terms of the enquiry were therefore voluntarily accepted. The stage has now been reached to establish a definite position and to escape from the ambiguity of such repeated expressions as "the interest in the social aspects of economic development", etc. The best method for a necessary initial clarification certainly consists of giving a precise answer to the following question: what are the basic problems to which all such research in some way or other refer? Quite plainly, there are two: the social conditions of economic development but the social effects of that development. Both answers obviously differ and define the field of study with accuracy, thus constituting a firm departure point.

These two aspects have already been mentioned at various times, although with particular emphasis on the first. Everything that has been said, in different ways, regarding the relationship of economic activity with human characters and motivations, customs, traditions and usages of a society, amounts to a reconsideration, in inverted and sometimes purely descriptive form, of Weber's classic study of capitalism. What are the social conditions which enable this system to function? To repeat the same question from the aspect of modern economic development represents the continuity of an

/extremely precise

extremely precise theoretical tradition.

From this point of view, the preference of some writers to apply the term "obstacles" to the development difficulties in the less advanced countries seems problematical or debatable. These obstacles certainly exist, but from the viewpoint of theory they are only specific features of those conditions which must be examined in general. They are, so to speak, negative conditions with very different force if they represent gaps or opposition. Moreover, apart from the fact that theory demands the widest possible basis, insistent emphasis on the obstacles leads to a militant or dogmatic position and may sometimes cause a feeling of pessimism prejudicial to the exercise of a scientific attitude.

The second question, that of the social effects, is merely a special example of the results of any factor of change, whatever its nature. Economic development is a process of induced change which demands a response, not only to its primary or desired results, but additionally to its secondary or unforeseen effects. In other words, the rest of the institutions comprising the social structure inevitably react upon economic change, as noted earlier. Is it possible to predict these reactions? Apart from the abstract considerations which will have to be repeated later, the outstanding practical problem of the under-developed countries has been regarded from different viewpoints, although one of the most direct and plastic concepts may be stated as follows: countries in course of development must progress by using the methods of Western industrialization, but without paying the same price for the industrial revolutions of the Western countries. In other words, "industrialization must not destroy the morale and social structure of the newcomers, as was the case in the older industrialized countries" (E.Heimann). This then is the idea which in one or another way dominates a consideration of the social effects of economic development.

#### 4. The situation in Latin America

If an attempt is made to establish a list for Latin America of the studies on the actual social situation undertaken from the viewpoint of this report, it will be seen that they are few and, on the whole, deficient. There is no comparison with Africa and Asia, which, according to international summaries and bibliographies, account for most of the research work during the last few years. Although this is largely a result of the exigencies of

/international politics

international politics and a new policy on the part of some countries still retaining overseas territories, it also arises from the peculiarities of Latin America's situation, which can mislead those without an intimate knowledge of it. Latin America's simultaneous unity and diversity in the social and cultural sphere, the contrasts between its vast agricultural masses and the vigorous centres of industrial progress and, above all, the fact that this region belongs to a culture which is at least partially a peripheral form of that of the Western nations, all present a picture which is not always easily understood and to which the standards developed elsewhere in the world cannot be applied. The social and cultural questions raised by Latin America's economic development can only be viewed from within the framework of these peculiarities, because they are neither the problems of more developed countries nor do they entirely arise from some primitive areas in the region. Whatever the reasons for the gap as regards Latin America, and which cannot be further discussed at this stage, the fact is that it exists and must be filled as soon as possible.

This task cannot be undertaken by ECLA alone, since it lacks the required means at present. But the Commission does believe that it can help in emphasizing the problems and in co-ordinating the results of the research which its sphere of work demands. ECLA cannot, in fact, duplicate the activities of the various national councils on scientific progress, nor those of the different university bodies engaged in social research; nor can it aim at undertaking tasks which fall within the scope of other international organizations. Nevertheless, it can and should collaborate with all these bodies and obtain their assistance for a better understanding of all the questions related to sociology, psychology or culture which are engendered by the economic development of the region. Clearly, this can only be accomplished along the lines of its own interests.

Within this policy, it was considered opportune to begin a more intensive study of the questions outlined above, although still on a provisional basis. The following pages aim at this objective.

## /II. The field of research



## II. The field of research

### 1. Preliminary observations

An analysis of social factors obviously forms part of the complex variety of themes which occur in examining economic development. But this fact alone restricts the scope and direction of the proposed study. In other words, the present status of the problem must first be established. It is true that the research is dealing with a real situation, that of Latin America, and with material drawn from actual experience. Nevertheless, the first step is to find out what is known, or what is believed to be known, on this subject with some degree of generalization. What, if any, are the theoretical results of contemporary research on this point? What questions stand out as being the most important? Conversely, what gaps are there either in the knowledge or the attention devoted to certain subjects? What kind of methodological guidance appears suitable and how far do such methods fail or provide only doubtful results? If a minimum number of valid conclusions can be reached, the outlines of the framework are available within which to undertake the meaningful and systematic research of the realities concerned. Furthermore, this objective, while it justifies the theoretical setting, strictly limits its possible extension. Thus theory alone is of no interest in this case but is significant as an instrument in the hands of the research worker for the future.

To accomplish the task, the ideal method would be for reality in Latin America to be present from the first moment and at each of the successive stages in any study of this nature. If this is impracticable, as might well be suspected beforehand, it can always appear in negative form or in the guise of a question. The possible value of this type of study is both to demonstrate what is known and to show what is unknown but is likely to be significant.

In spite of a clear current recognition of the need for closer collaboration between the different branches of social science, in practice the problems of what is called "inter-disciplinary contact" are by no means resolved. It must additionally be recognized - with care to avoid possible disillusion - that problems arising from the relationship between economists /and sociologists,

and sociologists, in its broadest meaning, are particularly complex. These difficulties are traditional and invariably hinge on a dissimilarity in scientific standards or accuracy between the two subjects, above all as regards the different possibilities of quantitative definition and measurement. This is not the time to enlarge upon this point or to enter the disputed theme of integrating the social sciences. It suffices to state that an understanding is not impossible, provided that the boundaries of each are recognized and the guidance and direction of a given discipline are accepted according to individual cases. In studying economic development as a whole, the decisive and basic role played by the economist in this "inter-disciplinary collaboration" is clearly acknowledged by all. It is the economist who should in principle establish the policy of the research, emphasizing the problems which, in his opinion, are the most important and suggesting the tasks which he regards as complementary to his own work.

Dissimilarities in the nature of each discipline are further reflected in the different working methods of each. The more flexible research of the economist, providing he is equipped with data which can be measured, is infrequently available to the historian, sociologist, anthropologist, etc., who are dealing with other types of material.

This circumstance must be borne in mind - and it is mentioned for this reason - by anyone proposing to study the social aspects of economic development in Latin America, because, excluding specific field work, a preliminary compilation of published data and other material must be made; this is extremely scattered and difficult to collect, even supposing it exists at all, which may not always be the case.

From the outset, the initial stages of the present report have been unable to avoid similar difficulties and they will only be satisfactorily concluded if these problems can be overcome. The suggestions outlined above regarding broad institutional co-operation thus reappear as an urgent need for the possibilities of practical work.

## 2. The study programme

It will be recalled that this report aims at establishing what is thought to be known theoretically about the major social and political factors arising from economic development. This task of outlining the status of the question as accurately as possible, remains purely preparatory, since its main interest lies in finding theoretical principles and general hypotheses

to serve as a basis for concrete research into reality in Latin America.

The various aspects and themes in this programme appear as an annex to this paper, in sufficient detail perhaps to assist in understanding its general lines. Some explanation, however, may be of value here. Any research programme is naturally defective in its initial stages and the greatest hazard in drawing it up lies in succumbing to the temptation of carrying logic too far; in other words, in establishing its various themes, to imagine that these are strictly the consequences of a given theory or hypothesis, tacit or expressed, without abandoning any aspect which might be required for construction of the programme. But the converse error of a mere mass of facts, supposed to reflect a consensus of opinion by the majority, is no less dangerous.

There is, of course, a point of departure for the sociological approach, such as that of Section II in the preliminary programme, which might invite the use of a closed system. But to avoid this danger, it would not be sufficient to arrange the themes in accordance with the greater or lesser frequency with which they appear in the small number of sources consulted. The problems successively tabulated in the programme in fact correspond to those which in some form or other usually appear in the literature examined, but which are integrated on the lines of certain general theoretical assumptions. The object has thus been to blend an element of flexibility with some measure of constructive order.

However, since it is extremely difficult to be entirely free from the dialectical influence of theoretical arrangement or from the desire to be as comprehensive as possible, it should be assumed beforehand that there will be defects in establishing the subjects and that subsequent experience will reveal them. One of these defects is that all the themes may appear of equal importance when in fact they vary considerably in significance, although it is a fact that one of the purposes of this study is to determine the exact degree of these differences. Another possible defect is the disparity between the theories and data of the different subjects. It may so happen that for some of these subjects the empirical and theoretical material available is so scanty that they must remain in the form of mere questions. Again, although it is hoped that confirmation of the data will be obtained during the course of the study itself, it is appropriate, at this stage, to bear these shortcomings in mind.

Much confusion exists in current usage of the term "under-developed country" or "countries" and prevails to such a degree that nations where the social and cultural formation differs radically are considered on the same level; in addition some of the purely economic indices which are most used are unsatisfactory from other aspects. These two factors emphasize the urgent need for a composite view of the theory of development, which is no other than the traditional sociological approach. It is essential that this over-all view should be obtained, whoever obtains it and irrespective of all academic conflict of sect or school. This is the viewpoint which section II endeavours to present.

It is well to remember that economic development is no more than a phenomenon of social change. But in order to achieve the objectives sought here, it is unsuitable to raise once again the whole theory of social change, which is always inconclusive and never completely satisfactory. To do so, whatever the interest, would involve an unnecessary digression. But it is appropriate, however, to recall by one means or another that contemporary thought, although less ambitious in its interpretations than over-confident judgments of the past, has been capable at least of defining the essential questions which must be raised for each phenomenon of social change. What changes? How does it change? In what direction and at what rate does it change? What are the causes? These questions are valid whatever the phenomenon or system concerned. When countries in course of economic development are involved, what are the definite changes taking place? What is the nature of the change?

It may be claimed that such questions are unnecessary, because it is preferable to abide by historical experience, such as that gathered from a bare account of events in the progress of the economically more advanced countries. Furthermore, in every case and in accordance with the formal interpretation of history as a general process of rationalization, events in countries which are developing may be seen as phenomena of the cultural lag within this universal and sweeping trend.

The lessons of the past in the economy of this or that country should by no means be ignored, but they are obviously inadequate to be taken literally or to have their surface deeply penetrated. Nor do very general approaches suffice, such as those indicated earlier, however enlightening they may

/prove to

prove to be.

The problem must thus be defined with greater precision. When discussing economic development, the change is taking place in the entire social structure between two specific moments. This means that prior knowledge of where the change begins and whence it is leading is a prerequisite for a clear statement on this subject. In other words, no vague statements about societies in process of development can be made. On the contrary, it is essential to start from as close a knowledge as possible of their social structure, which is where the over-all changes take place. Moreover, the basis for this knowledge is a typology of the social structures, which is the aim pursued from various angles by contemporary thought.

It has been shown, in fact, that, underlying the diversity of the specific or historic structure of different societies, there are certain patterns in the attitudes and more elemental relationships which not only facilitate their grouping but also constitute the basic premise or foundation for all their manifestations. These are the patterns which the analytical theory of the social structure hopes to establish, although it is neither dealing with puzzling subtleties nor with data far removed from urgent, practical problems. Why, in one society, do rational forms of conduct regularly occur which are only achieved with difficulty by others? Why do the economic or political institutions of one country operate in accordance with what is purely an objective goal, while other countries, in contrast, tolerate disturbing elements to these aims. Here the faculties and obligations of an activity are precise and strictly delimited, while elsewhere they are confused and open to manifold implications. What is the reason? Rationality, universality or particularism, the diffuse or specific nature of a relationship, etc., are all terms which, in the analytical typology of the present day, denote the final and decisive elements of a social structure upon whose existence depends the possibility of realising specific and concrete aims. Can an enterprise governed by particularist criteria succeed? Can a modern economy be conceived which is not ruled by the universality of objective understanding?

Thus, although the level of abstract reasoning demanded by this theoretical construction appears far removed from the concrete problems of  
/reality, it

reality, it does provide an indispensable, conceptual tool for the fullest possible examination of that reality. With this scope and despite all reservations, the analytical typology of the social structure constitutes the greatest and most promising advance in present-day sociological theory. Its application to the problems of economic development significantly clarify its fundamental bases; that is to say, in its more successful aspects it can at least be utilized as a good working hypothesis. In this respect, to what type of analytical structure do the Latin American countries belong?

The third section is dedicated to the demographic factor and well illustrates the difficulties arising from the logical presentation of a research programme. In fact, the demographic element cannot be avoided among the many conditions of aggregate social activity, whatever type it may be. Thus, its possible significance is ever present in any attempt to classify the determinants, factors, variables, etc. of economic development. Moreover, the affinity of some aspects of demographic and economic theories considerably assists their mutual contact and enrichment, because both use quantitative data and identical statistical methods. Finally, demography is one of the social disciplines presenting the most persistent totalitarian tendency, which is revealed by a peculiar interpretation of society and history. However, when the question of weighing the contribution of demography to a possible theory of economic development arises, some problematical points immediately appear. It is well known that the first problem to be resolved in questions of social analysis is that of causation. But it happens that some of the typical demographic correlations are limited to raising - rather than elucidating - the key question of the motivating force of causation. For this reason, it is not surprising that some demographers, Spengler for example, call attention to the need for closer collaboration with other sciences, both natural and social. Thus, the general plan of section III and the main lines of possible concrete research will provide no novelty because they cover well-known ground dominated by refined intellectual tradition.

The first important element for the theory of demographic development is a population analysis in its classical quantitative aspects, namely, its trends of growth and its different methods of composition. For the economist, it represents a study in its most precise form of the different dimensions of the  
/population in

population in terms of the determinants of per capita income. The most general problem which arises is that of the proportion between the various potentials of demographic and economic growth. Thus the future of some advanced countries is dependent upon the fact that the rate of growth in the population will not exceed or equal the rate of economic development, which would otherwise neutralize its effects.

But, wide generalizations will not fit into these terms. It is recognized by all the experts that the effects of demographic growth vary according to the particular conditions of the unit considered. Thus the guidance of an economist on this point is of undoubted importance. What demographic problems are fundamental from his point of view? Which are those he considers of vital importance for reality in Latin America?

Given the conditions in this region, it might happen that it was more suitable to attend first to the qualitative aspects of the population: health, nutrition, distribution of intelligence and professional abilities, etc. These are all questions within the scope of other specialists and other interests, so that they offer abundant material for discussion.

In contrast to the analytical construction of section II, the fourth section deals with the real structural elements of special interest to development problems. Very wide differences exist in the knowledge of each element as regards the theoretical level, the empirical material which can be used and the methods of research employed.

The first real structure is that of social stratification upon whose vital significance there is, in principle, no basic disagreement. The diversities in human conduct co-determined by the network of the stratification are studied from the most varied angles, since they may influence alike fertility and political activity, the stability of the family and the idiosyncracies of fashion, religion or the incidence of the neurosis. From the aspect of the economy, it is well known that its progress is very closely linked with underlying estimates of the status system and with the opportunities for either upward or downward movement offered within it. For the purposes of any economic development policy, the nature of a given country's social stratification must be borne in mind, since its influence will differ greatly according to the structure, mobility and the levels of expectancy that it encourages and permits. The modern economy not only

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demands a minimum of an open system and general mobility in its status system, but also specific flexibilities within its different groups - entrepreneurs, professional classes and labour - as well as the existence of forms of prestige and of adequate levels of expectancy. The last-named are as decisive as they are sometimes difficult to define, since it is already known that they not only depend upon objective factors which are easy to formulate but also on subtle psychological processes which affect the judgment of the situation by those concerned, impelling them to greater effort or to apathy. In the latter case, the barrier which the individual raises to a betterment of his social position has similar socio-economic effects as those caused by purely objective obstacles.

Some praiseworthy efforts have been made in Latin America to learn the peculiarities of the social status, but it must be acknowledged that such research is still insufficient and many gaps are waiting to be filled. However, a study of these particular questions requires preliminary work which began only a short while ago. There are so many differences in research methods that it is no simple task to reach uniform or comparable results among the various countries.

The influence of the family structure and of family-type relationships, as an obstacle to present economic rationalization is as well known as the danger from a too rapid transformation. In this respect, it is natural that from one angle or another the phenomenon has been analysed with great interest during the last few years and that, for example, a relatively abundant amount of information should have been accumulated on certain Asiatic and African peoples. Research in Latin America, however, is more limited, if it exists at all. Although in principle this can be justified by the smaller importance of the problem in this region - outside purely native communities - certain aspects may be found which merit research, for example the remnants of old customs such as compadrazgo or the working conditions of women. The report naturally mentions the anxiety over the deterioration in traditional organic ties, which is one of the consequences of industrialization, but a study of this subject requires a different approach.

Although theoretical guidance is by no means precise - and the problems begin in the relevant terminology - the structure of town and country both individually and in their mutual relationship, are worthy of ever-greater

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research. Indeed, it is almost superfluous to repeat that urbanism as a form of life progresses on a parallel course to the development of modern, technical and industrial civilization. The United Nations has shown great interest in sponsoring activities connected with "community development" and with research on urbanism; much data has been collected on these problems during the last few years, chiefly relating to Asia and Africa although Latin America has not been entirely disregarded. Nevertheless, the disparities are extreme between the methodologies employed, because wide differences exist between the practical aspects and the interests of knowledge. A preliminary clarification of this subject is thus required, above all when an attempt is made to focus it from the angle of economic development. These disparities do not indicate sweeping differences in reality, but in the orientation only, as the same rural community may present one framework to economic research and another to the practical preoccupations of social policy. Although little research has been carried out on rural communities in Latin America - their way of life, the significance of their exodus to the towns, the break-up of agricultural units, etc.- even less work has been done on urban areas. They can either be studied from the ecological viewpoint or for their significance as diffusion centres and as channels for innovations into the developing economy. In either case, such studies assume greater importance because of the doubtful character of certain current suppositions on the uniform and inevitable character of the so-called urbanization process.

Within the over-all framework formed by these considerations, the economist has shown major interest in the obstacles to economic development raised by the agrarian structure. In this connexion, the list of the principal questions - from the problem of land ownership to that of rent, and many others - is universally recognized and can be used as the objective focus for each concrete case by the process of scientific analysis, although many political complications are likely to appear later. The contributions made by different bodies of the United Nations to this question are of considerable importance.

It is well known that the spiritual roots of the modern economy stem primarily from the work of Weber and from the polemics, supplementary work or ramifications that his work has aroused. The evaluation of knowledge as a form  
/of capital

of capital is frequent among authorities, as well as agreement on the role of invention in economic progress. On the other hand, the number of publications on technological invention is beginning to become unmanageable; such data is hardly scarce but represents what might be regarded as a superfluity of doctrinal and empirical material which must be put in order. Nevertheless, concrete research work is hampered in its task by the opposition of some such data to the concepts of quantitative analysis and measurement. In some way, such work must proceed, particularly in view of the circumstances of the Latin American countries. This subject is dealt with in section V.

The apparent motivations for economic activity are to be found within the cultural traditions of a people and are influenced by the dominant trends of their general education. The requirements of a modern economy are very precise, but may be totally or partially lacking. This is not only a question of widespread literacy campaigns, however important they are, but of current values in a society which govern the more specific ways of life and the day-to-day aspirations of each individual. It should be noted, however, that when certain values and standards in research of this type are shown to be adverse, they are by no means dogmatic but only represent an indication of the indispensable elements to be accepted as means, when the goal of economic development is being sought.

In this regard, the position occupied by science today is a central feature of any society. From the aspect of economic development it is essential to discover the prestige of science - or even more so of the scientific attitude - in a country and above all - and this is an easier task - to determine what is now entitled the "social organization" of science. Without doubt, this is one of the clearest indices of the distance which still separates one nation from another.

No further insistence on the current importance of technological invention and education is required. What is known today of the sociology of invention easily enables a plan for the essential research to be outlined. Two general observations only are pertinent at this stage. In the first place, although economists have repeatedly indicated the problems implicit in adopting new techniques in terms of the labour-capital ratio, it should not be forgotten that every technical innovation brings with it changes in human  
/relationships, in

relationships, in the forms of law and in other social institutions. The sociologist, Louis Wirth, affirms in this connexion that "it is clear that choices between these technological improvements will depend on the secondary and tertiary effects of the change rather than upon simple considerations of output increase". Even if this opinion is not accepted literally, it cannot be denied that it clearly states the problem. In the second place, in view of the usual preference for material techniques, it should be emphasized that social, human and organizational techniques are no less important for the theory and practice of economic development. As E. Staley has so justly observed, the problems of invention, innovation and adaptation in social techniques are as decisive as the material techniques and have undoubtedly received less attention.

Without doubt, sections VI and VII form the nucleus of this report and in a certain sense represent two opposite features of the same phenomenon. Their content poses similar questions for sociological analysis in under-developed countries, but the models for the respective social roles concerned have varied in the course of history. Clearly no a priori statement can be made that their phases are inevitable or should necessarily repeat themselves. However, the status of research on these two themes differs considerably. For both of them, it is an undoubted fact that the doctrinal contribution is very abundant in the more advanced Western countries. Moreover, the material collected by private investigators and official bodies on manpower problems in some under-developed areas is likewise relatively ample. But this cannot be said of data on the entrepreneur.

It is unnecessary to be a devotee of the Shumpeterian theory to acknowledge the vital importance of this problem. In principle, its recognition is so unanimous that it has almost become exempt from further consideration. As regards the future development of Latin America, no one can doubt that its intensity - whatever the degree of influence it exerts upon public actions - primarily depends upon whether an entrepreneurial class capable of fulfilling its historic mission exists or not. What is known about such a class? In this context, theoretical, historical and sociographical research on the Latin American entrepreneur is one of the most urgent and promising tasks to be accomplished.

No research of this type can commence without a knowledge of the historical evolution of the enterprise and of its features in the contemporary world. The historical mutations of the enterprise and of the corresponding human changes have been an object of continuous attention on the part of economic historians, so much so that their traditions could be grouped without difficulty in recent typology, such as that of Edgar Salin. In contrast, the contemporary examples of the enterprise in more highly-developed countries present distinct characteristics, a knowledge of which is indispensable.

For this task, an enterprise must first be considered as a social institution, side by side with other institutions and closely linked to them. Indeed, like any other type of institution, the enterprise is nothing more than a pattern of roles played by individuals with certain motives and with a definite social status. This abbreviated statement nevertheless contains the fundamental questions. What is the social role of the entrepreneur? What are the types of entrepreneur from the analytical aspect? What are the internal characteristics of the enterprise? What is the prevailing social attitude to the enterprise?

Only through examples can an outline of these questions be established a little more definitely. Thus, the physiognomy of the entrepreneurial class of any country at a given moment will depend upon the actual type of entrepreneur predominating there. To discover this, a choice of different typologies can be employed. One, commented upon by J. Brozen, is as simple as Danhof's and raises the questions of whether innovating entrepreneurship exists or not and what relation it has to imitative, Fabian or drone entrepreneurship. The more analytical typology of Cole encourages research into the relative predominance of the empirical, rational or cognitive entrepreneurship. And so on.

The characteristics of the enterprise depend upon its own organization, upon how it is formed and the internal mobility of the entrepreneurial class, and upon both the economic and social ideals of its main figures. These different traits are contingent upon both the vigour of the enterprise within the economic system and the degree of social acceptance of the enterprise. Meticulous research is today undertaken on the significance of the various forms and problems of internal organization, such as the number and relationship of its managers, centralization or decentralization in taking of decisions, etc. But less attention is devoted to the other points mentioned, which are also of great importance to a socio-economic analysis. How can the entrepreneurial class be recruited and trained? Is it of an open or closed nature? Is training through experience essential or does professional training also contribute to it? What is its nature and by whom is it offered? What is the social status of the entrepreneurial class or, to phrase this differently, does it or not form part of an élite? Further, if it is also necessary to determine the economic attitudes and social ideals of the entrepreneur - from what is only one part of his position vis a vis the industrial worker - it is just as essential to understand the over-all social attitude to the enterprise.

/It cannot

It cannot be denied that the climate created by such attitudes and ideals represents a decisive factor for the activity of the entrepreneur, although it is alone insufficient to determine it.

What is the present situation of the Latin American countries in relation to both all the aspects reviewed and each one individually? According to interests and possibilities, the required research may be either historical or purely on a present-day and socio-geographical basis.

In spite of what has been said above, an effort should be made to systematize the data on the labour force so that the problems may be raised as fully as possible. Ignoring for the moment all questions of social policy, for the economist, the labour force represents above all a problem of supply and of organizing a market. Even in this sphere it is already evident that the situation varies between countries with a different economic level. For the less advanced, therefore, it is essential to begin by establishing full information on the available manpower, based on the statistical material to hand.

From the aspect of the interests of economic development, isolated problems have been appearing which must be systematized in the integral plan. The first problem to intervene is that of the resistance or favourable conditions arising from the social and cultural status of the labour force in given countries or regions. Valuable research has already been carried out in relation to the attitudes and dispositions of many primitive peoples or traditionally peasant groups. The second problem, which is naturally attacked from an angle closely akin to the former, is how to obtain higher productivity. Its solution requires a greater knowledge of the psychological motivations of the effort. Naturally, the integration and completion of all these questions into a composite whole is an obligation not only of the theory and practice of economic development but also of the research requirements into reality in Latin America. To state it briefly, the ethos or the morale of labour at one given moment for a society is conditioned by complex factors which must be analysed and known in detail. The results of modern industrial sociology have to be used in this task and, not only in its widest application, but also in the more restricted sense of what the Germans entitle Betriebsoziologie (work plant).

As in the case of the entrepreneur, historical and contemporary models of the industrial worker in the less-developed countries differ widely and it would be an error to believe that a repetition of all the experiences through which the formation of each has passed must be accepted previously. Nevertheless, what have been and what are today such models?

Concrete research into the labour force, from the aspect of economic development, must look for a response to three basic questions. How does it adapt itself to technology and the material demands arising from it? How does it adapt itself to the enterprise and to the work plant? What is its social adaptation? The three problems all require a distinct research method, whose relative importance should be discussed; none of them however is fully significant if separated from the remainder.

The meaning of the organization of labour is self-explanatory. It is also clear that it can only be examined here on the basis of the role it plays and can play in a development policy. To give more details on these points would entail an incursion into the main statement of section VII.

Section VIII obviously does not aim at offering a summary of economic policy. On the minimum basis of the results of historical experience in more advanced countries, it is possible to suggest with some accuracy the type of state activity for the programming of development, in its strict meaning today.

Because such activities are carried out through a bureaucracy, this is a well-defined problem, the importance of which is never argued. The significance which juridical security and administrative rationalization have had in the development of capitalism is known. During recent years, the process of increasing bureaucracy - viewed with alarm by some - is becoming more general and is growing side by side in both the state and industry. In an intermediate sphere, a new type of bureaucrat is appearing who shares the character of an administrator and an entrepreneur. Finally, some economists feel that in under-developed countries the classic action of innovation by the entrepreneur can only arise from government initiative, although they know the failings of such bureaucracy. What should be said on this subject, in a general sense and in relation to specific countries? What is the present situation of bureaucracy in the region - recruitment, organization, efficiency

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and the spirit of relations with the public, etc. - and what should be done to strengthen bureaucracy in its role as an essential support of economic development?

Faced with the danger of becoming lost in a field which has no limits, a detailed examination of the relations between politics and economic development cannot be undertaken. In this context, the lack of satisfactory generalizations is surprising, even for countries which are more advanced and have been more fully studied. Nevertheless, some hypotheses exist - based particularly on certain positions of value - which might well be examined. A preliminary exploration of them is carried out in section IX, but which also must be devoted to a concrete theme of extreme importance: the role of the intelligentsia in an economy. Although this subject appears to be unrelated to the specific questions of economic growth, it still has a vital significance recognized by theory and which experience of recent years confirms. As a result, it is not surprising that this theme has gone beyond purely academic speculation and is becoming a source of interest for wider circles. At the present stage of Latin America's development this question is perhaps of more importance than might originally have been thought.

As an annex, two last sections with very different features are included in the report. The first emphasizes the difference because it inverts the general point of view of the report. In fact, it deals not with the social conditions of economic development, but with forecasts. Although the argument is different - in the context of the social repercussions of technological progress - this is the problem which has been most discussed recently. But the absence of general hypotheses is clearly evident in the extreme diversity of the way in which this question is tackled.

It might be feared that this theme could lead to a fortuitous prognosis. But, apart from the empirical results of history and given some type of social structure, the guidance of its change allows some of the inevitable consequences to be projected. The fact that these consequences may disorganize the transitional phase in no way affects the theoretical question, although it does convert such consequences into an actual problem of politics and of practical action.

/Even more

Even more so, a speculative temptation may appear in the last section, which is the second in the annex. Nevertheless, the questions which are raised are no more than an obligation of methodological precision. The vigour and the direction of any research definitely depend upon its assumptions being explicit and that a clear knowledge of them should be present at all times.

/Annex



Annex

THE PRELIMINARY PROGRAMME

I

THE INTEGRAL CONCEPT OF DEVELOPMENT

1. The present interest in under-developed countries. How it arises.  
The economic and political response. Reality and ideology.
2. The attention devoted to the social aspects of economic development:
  - a) The practical departure point. The Technical Assistance Administration.
  - b) The view of the economist. The inclusion of social questions in the theory of development.
  - c) The approach to the other social sciences.
3. The integral concept of development.
4. The present status of the research:
  - a) Reasons for the research.
  - b) The form it has taken.
  - c) Its future organization:
    - i) Determining the basic themes.
    - ii) Establishing priorities: long-term and short-term research.
    - iii) Unifying the methods.
  - d) The role of the Economic Commission for Latin America (ECLA):
    - i) Forming public opinion.
    - ii) Stimulating and co-ordinating the activities.
    - iii) Planned research and the possible training of specialists.

II

THE SOCIOLOGICAL APPROACH AND ANALYTICAL TYPOLOGY

1. The sociological approach as required by the problem itself.  
This is not a question of terms. The contribution of history.
2. Economic development as a phenomenon of change. Theoretical questions on social change. Economic development in the historical process of rationalization. Conditions or obstacles?
3. The problem of what changes. Whence and whither. The analytical typology of the social structure.

/4. The reasons

4. The reasons for the confusion over the under-developed countries. What is the type of analytical structure of the Latin American countries?

### III

#### THE DEMOGRAPHIC FACTOR

1. The contribution of demographic theory and the limits of population studies.
2. The quantitative aspects of the population:
  - a) Trends. The problem of over-population.
  - b) Composition.
  - c) Migratory movements.
3. The qualitative aspects of the population:
  - a) Health.
  - b) Nutrition.
  - c) Abilities.

### IV

#### REAL SOCIAL STRUCTURES

1. Analytical typology and its real structures. What are the specific structures of most interest to development problems? Why?
2. The social stratification:
  - a) Status system: prevailing values and forms of prestige. Professions.
  - b) Social and professional mobility. Expectancy levels.
3. The structure of the family and family-type relationships.
4. The city and the country:
  - a) General significance of the relationship between town and country.
  - b) Obstacles to economic development arising from the agrarian structure:
    - i) Distribution and ownership of the land.
    - ii) Property titles and organization.
  - c) The rural community.
    - i) Its way of life.
    - ii) The rural exodus and the dissolution of the rural community.
  - d) The development of towns. Development of urbanization.
5. Representative problems

5. Representative problems of the Latin American countries. Defining the required research.

## V

## CULTURAL CONDITIONS

1. Traditions and innovations. Intellectual assumptions of the economy today. Innovation and borrowing in under-developed countries.
2. Cultural traditions and general education. Its favourable or adverse nature.
3. The central theme: Science as an institution:
  - a) The prestige of science.
  - b) Its forms of organization.
4. Technical invention and technological education:
  - a) Material techniques.
  - b) Social techniques.
  - c) The problem of technological education (vocational and professional, etc.)
5. The situation of the Latin American countries. Suitable research.

## VI

## THE ENTREPRENEUR

1. Historical evolution of entrepreneurship and contemporary models.
2. The enterprise as a social institution:
  - a) Types of entrepreneurs.
  - b) Characteristics of the enterprise:
    - i) Organization.
    - ii) Training and mobility of entrepreneurship.
    - iii) Economic and social ideals of the entrepreneur.
  - c) Human relationships in the enterprise.
3. Social attitudes as regards the enterprise.
4. The different types of research:
  - a) Historical.
  - b) Socio-graphical.

## /VII THE LABOUR FORCE

## VII

### THE LABOUR FORCE

1. The type of industrial worker and his evolution. Present situation.
2. The morale of labour. The motivations for work and the response to the different incentives. Wages. Peasants and industrial workers.
3. Technological adaptation and the problem of qualification:
  - a) Assimilation of mechanical task: abilities and skills.
  - b) Efficiency: fatigue and accidents.
  - c) Apprenticeship and professional training.
4. Adaptation to the enterprise.
  - a) Assimilation to discipline.
  - b) Industrial relations.
5. Social adaptation:
  - a) Professional mobility and expectancy levels.
  - b) Ways of life and leisure (consumer habits and saving, family budgets, etc.)
  - c) Social cohesion and personality.
  - d) Ideological reflections.
6. The organization of labour:
  - a) Historical models.
  - b) Labour leadership.
7. The situation in Latin America. Representative questions. The more important research.

## VIII

### THE ROLE OF THE STATE

1. State action in economic history.
2. The role of the state in under-developed countries:
  - a) Laissez-faire, planning and programming.
  - b) The state and the programming of development:
    - i) Juridical framework and social investment.
    - ii) Guidance.
    - iii) Initiative and encouragement.
3. The significance of bureaucracy:
  - /a) The role

- a) The role and dangers of contemporary bureaucracy.
  - b) Basic problems:
    - i) Recruitment.
    - ii) Organization.
    - iii) Relations with the public.
  - c) The economic bureaucracy.
4. The State and bureaucracy in the Latin American countries. The traditions and the present situation.

## IX

## POLITICS AND DEVELOPMENT

1. The vital question: economic rationality and political irrationalism? Experience from the history of advanced countries. The significance of authoritarian forms.
2. The problem of the under-developed countries. The roots of their instability and the dangers of impatience.
3. The intelligentsia and economic life:
  - a) The contribution of the sociology of the intelligentsia.
  - b) The question in under-developed countries:
    - i) Lack of roots and frustration.
    - ii) The attraction of extremism.

## Annex

## X

## FORECASTS OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

1. The historical significance of "economic progress". The over-all process of rationalization.
2. The need and the chances of foreseeing specific effects:
  - a) The repercussion on prevailing values.
  - b) The repercussion on the family structure.
  - c) The repercussion on ways of life.
  - d) The repercussion on politics. Disintegration of the old elite? Radicalism? Political apathy?

XI

THE HISTORICAL JUNCTURE

1. Development problems today:
  - a) Assumptions of value. The need to explain these assumptions. Economic and social systems. The importance of the values.
  - b) Political conditions at this historical juncture. Prevailing polarity. Development as a common problem.
2. General assumptions on economic programming:
  - a) What is being sought? Ideological attraction. Significance and limits of the idea of progress.
  - b) How should it be sought? The method, the tempo and secondary effects.
  - c) Who wants it? A broadening of the popular basis. Development policy in its educational role.
3. The situation in Latin America.